

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 192050

FOR ASST SECRETARY MOOSE

FOLLOWING REPEAT USUN 3025 ACTION SECSTATE INFO BONN DAR ES  
SALAAM GVGABORONE LAGOS LIBREVILLE LONDON LUSAKA MAPUTO OTTAWA  
PRIS PRETORIA DATED JUL 27:

QTE: C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN NEW YORK 03025

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA  
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SWAPO RESERVATIONS ABOUT ROLE OF  
UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE

1. SUMMARY: REPRESENTATIVES OF FRONT LINE STATES AND  
NIGERIA HAVE MET WITH SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA AND  
MADE IT CLEAR THAT SWAPO MUST ACCEPT THE WESTERN FIVE  
PROPOSAL AND STOP AGITATING FOR CHANGES. IN ADDITION,  
THEY HAVE ASSURED US THAT SWAPO WILL RAISE NO PROBLEM  
REGARDING WALVIS BAY. WHILE IT WOULD APPEAR, THEREFORE,  
THAT SWAPO WILL NOT TORPEDO THE PASSAGE OF THE UPCOMING  
SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION ON NAMIBIA, NUJOMA HAS TOLD  
US THAT LATER ON, WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL  
REPRESENTATIVE'S MANDATE IS FORMULATED, SWAPO WILL  
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PAGE 02 STATE 192050

INSIST IT SPELL OUT CLEARLY THAT THE SPECIAL REPRESENTA-  
TIVE'S ROLE WILL PREDOMINATE IN RELATION TO THE ROLE  
OF THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR YOUNG, ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES AND  
DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY PETTERSON MET BRIEFLY WITH  
SWAPO PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA AND UN REPRESENTATIVE

THEO-BEN GURIRAB AFTERNOON OF JULY 26, JUST BEFORE THE CONTACT GROUP MEETING. (SEPTTEL). DURING THE CONVERSATION IT EMERGED THAT SWAPO CONTINUES TO BE CONCERNED THAT DURING THE TRANSITION THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL WILL EXERCISE MORE EFFECTIVE POWER THAN THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE. NUJOMA (UNDOUBTEDLY REFLECTING THE ADMONITION HE HAD RECEIVED FROM THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIA) SAID HE FORESAW NO PROBLEM BETWEEN NOW AND THE SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING SCHEDULED FOR JULY 27. HOWEVER, HE SAID THAT DURING THE "SECOND STAGE" OF THE UNITED NATIONS PROCESS, SWAPO WILL WANT TO BE ASSURED "THAT THE MANDATE REFLECTS OUR POLITICAL POINT OF VIEW."

3. GURIRAB EXPLAINED THAT SWAPO WAS CONCERNED THAT THE ROLE OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AS SET FORTH IN THE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL IS "NOT SATISFACTORY." SWAPO WANTS IT TO BE CLEAR TO ALL THAT THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WILL BE THE PERSON WHO IS IN CHARGE, NOT THE SOUTH AFRICAN ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL. HE WENT ON TO SAY THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE STATED THAT THEY HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING THAT THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL WILL BE IN CHARGE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE TERRITORY, AND THAT THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD PLAY A SUBSIDIARY PART.

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PAGE 03 STATE 192050

4. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAID THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS COULD SAY WHAT THEY WANT, BUT IN FACT ONCE THE UNITED NATIONS TROOPS ARE IN PLACE, POWER WILL SHIFT AWAY FROM SOUTH AFRICA TO THE UN. ASSISTANT SECRETARY MAYNES NOTED THAT THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIATIONS THE CONTACT GROUP HAD EMPHASIZED THAT THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL COULD TAKE NO ACTION WITHOUT THE PRIOR APPROVAL OF THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

5. COMMENT: FROM THIS AND OTHER DISCUSSIONS WITH SWAPO TODAY, AS WELL AS CORROBORATION FROM FRONT LINE REPRESENTATIVES, NUJOMA AND COMPANY APPEARED DETERMINED TO TRY TO MAKE AN ISSUE OUT OF THIS QUESTION. IN ESSENCE, SUCH ACTION ON THEIR PART WOULD CONSTITUTE AN EFFORT TO RENEGOTIATE AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF THE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL. ALTHOUGH WE HAVE NO ASSURANCES FROM THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIANS THAT THEY WILL PUT PRESSURE ON SWAPO NOT TO FOLLOW THIS COURSE, THEY HAVE TOLD US THAT THEY WILL LET NUJOMA TALK NOW BUT WILL TAKE CARE OF HIM LATER. NEEDLESS TO SAY, IF THE ENABLING RESOLUTION AND THE RESOLUTION ON WALVIS BAY ARE APPROVED, AND THE SOUTH AFRICANS STAY IN THE GAME, WE SHALL NEED

THE CONTINUED SUPPORT OF THE FRONT LINE AND NIGERIA TO  
ENSURE THAT SWAPO DOES NOT ACT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PUT  
IN JEOPARDY FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD THE RESOLUTION OF  
THE NAMIBIA PROBLEM. YOUNG UNQTE VANCE

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